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Action

ENR

Info

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

SS

INR

NO: SECTO 362, JULY 20, 11 P.M.

RMR

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SUBJECT: PRIVATE SESSION

IN HOUR-LONG INFORMAL DISCUSSION AFTER LLOYD LUNCH TODAY FOR FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS, LLOYD TOOK LEAD IN GIVING GROMYKO PREVIEW OF WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH PROBLEM OF GERMANY AS A WHOLE (TEXT SECTO 553). WHILE RESERVING FINAL JUDGMENT PENDING OPPORTUNITY EXAMINE TEXT, GROMYKO EXPRESSED VIEW PROPOSAL UNACCEPTABLE SINCE IT PROVIDED FOR CONTINUED FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITY ON REUNIFICATION. THIS CONCEPT, GROMYKO SAID, IS CONTRARY TO SOVIET POSITION THAT THIS MUST BE WORKED OUT ONLY BY GERMANS THEMSELVES, A POSITION WHICH IS SUPPORTED BY PRESENT FACTUAL SITUATION. LLOYD AND COUVE ARGUED THAT ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION COULD NOT PREJUDICE EITHER SIDE'S FUNDAMENTAL POSITIONS AND THAT WEST PROPOSAL, WITH ITS BUILT-IN FLEXIBILITY ON NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES, MET THIS REQUIREMENT. GROMYKO, HOWEVER, DENIED THIS, POINTING OUT THAT ESSENCE OF WEST PROPOSAL IS TO PRESERVE FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITY FOR REUNIFICATION WHICH UNACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS. THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT GROMYKO'S ATTITUDE MEANS BASIC CHANGE IN SOVIET

POSITION

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-2- SECTO 362, JULY 20, 11 P.M. FROM GENEVA

POSITION SINCE 1955 WHEN BULGANIN RECOGNIZED FOUR POWER RESPONSIBILITY FOR REUNIFICATION BY SIGNATURE OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVE AND ASKED WHAT HAD CHANGED IN SITUATION TO WARRANT THIS REVERSAL OF SOVIET POSITION. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT SOVIETS AND WEST PLACED DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION ON DIRECTIVE AND THIS AN OLD STORY. THE SECRETARY THEN ASKED IF, AS APPARENT FROM GROMYKO'S REMARKS, AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT DEPENDS ON WEST'S ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET POSITION AND IF SOVIETS, AS GROMYKO SAID IN FRIDAY'S PRIVATE MEETING, REFUSE DISCUSS ELEMENTS OF INTERIM BERLIN SOLUTION UNTIL AGREEMENT REACHED, IS IT GROMYKO'S VIEW THAT WE SHOULD TERMINATE DISCUSSIONS? WHILE NOT DIRECTLY RESPONSIVE TO SECRETARY'S INQUIRY, GROMYKO'S REPLY THAT "HE WAS NOT SAYING THIS" COULD BE INTERPRETED (AND WAS SO INTERPRETED BY LLOYD) THAT SOVIET POSITION RE DISCUSSION OF BERLIN SITUATION PERHAPS NOW SOMEWHAT LESS INTRANSIGENT THAN APPEARED FRIDAY. THIS WAS ONLY POSITIVE RESULT OF MEETING, IF IT CAN BE SO DESCRIBED. LLOYD AND COUVE ACCEPTED GROMYKO INVITATION TO LUNCH TOMORROW. SECRETARY DECLINED BECAUSE PREVIOUS RED CROSS COMMITMENT BUT WILL JOIN OTHERS AFTER LUNCH. MERCHANT AND REINHARDT WILL HOWEVER ATTEND LUNCH ITSELF. IT WAS ALSO TENTATIVELY AGREED NEXT PLENARY WILL BE WEDNESDAY.

HERTER

SMD/23